WANG GUANGQI AND THE YOUNG CHINA ASSOCIATION*

GONG HONG-YU
UNITEC Institute of Technology

Rarely mentioned in Western histories of twentieth-century China, Wang Guangqi has to be introduced nowadays through his association with Li Dazhao, and Mao Zedong. But up to the early twenties he was probably as well-known as the former and certainly more prominent than the latter in the eyes of Chinese youth.[1]

This article seeks to give a historical account of Wang's role as a youth leader and social activist with particular reference to his crucial role in initiating one of China's most influential youth organisations - the Young China Association (YCA) - in the May Fourth era. It is hoped that by examining Wang's role in the YCA and analysing his social and political views in the context of the May Fourth era, his importance in the history of modern China can be acknowledged.

Wang Guangqi and the Formation of the YCA

Born in Wenjiang, Sichuan, in 1892, Wang was part of the transitional generation which enjoyed both the traditional Chinese upbringing and the new Western learning. His father, a holder of an imperial degree, died before he was born. Between the ages of five and fifteen he received a strict classical education from his mother and a local scholar. After attending a Westernised high school in Chengdu, where he met such lifelong friends as Li Jieren, the novelist, and Zeng Qi, a founder of the Chinese Youth Party, he then went to Beijing to study law at the China University.[2] After graduation in 1918, Wang established his reputation as a youth leader and social activist through organising the hugely influential YCA and the anarchist-inspired Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group (WSG). As an ardent proponent of the New Culture movement, Wang contributed important essays to *New Youth, the Weekly Review*, *Young China* and *Chenbao* [the Morning Post] and kept himself at the forefront of the May Fourth movement. In April 1920, Wang left China for Germany to study political economy. But after becoming convinced that music is the best means to effect goodness in the hearts of the people and transform social mores, in 1922 he began to study music, which culminated in his obtaining of a PhD degree from Bonn University in 1934. During his sixteen years in

Germany, Wang not only published some seventeen books and numerous articles on music, but also brought out twenty books and several volumes of translations on various aspects of Western civilisation, all in the hope of developing an overall strategy for a Chinese cultural revival through exploring the European cultural heritage.[3] Because of his association with the tremendously influential *Shenbao* [Shanghai Newspaper], *Chenbao* and some educational journals, Wang managed to exert considerable influence on the Chinese public right up to his premature death in Bonn on October 12, 1936.

Although Wang Guangqi changed his course of study he never wavered from his long cherished goal of creating a "Young China" - namely to transform the old, decadent and oppressive China into a young, independent, rich and powerful nation. This Young China goal was firmly developed during the May Fourth period when he was the principal organiser of the YCA. His study of music was by no means derived from his need for aesthetic enjoyment but a serious attempt to redefine Chinese culture in a modern context through reinterpreting the Confucian concepts of "yue" (music), "he" (harmony), and "li" (rites) and to find an ideal means of achieving the end of creating a Young China.

Among the societies and associations that mushroomed before and in the wake of the May Fourth Incident, the YCA was renowned for its long history, large membership, high calibre of its participants, wide distribution of its branches and later clear political affiliations of its members.

Initiated in June 1918 and formally established in Beijing in July 1919, the YCA lasted more than six years and had more than one hundred members both within China and abroad. Prior to being moved to Nanjing in 1924, the headquarters of the association was situated in Beijing with branches spread as wide as Chengdu, Nanjing, and Paris.[4] The vast majority of the members were intellectuals of distinction who later became prominent figures in almost every field of Chinese society despite their diverse political beliefs.[5]

As a typical May Fourth organization, the YCA was set up principally for the purpose of intellectual pursuits, social reform, popular education, and other social or cultural ends. Rather than confining itself to any one political philosophy or academic discipline the association aimed at providing a forum for intellectual exploration and cultural pluralism. This was made evident by its name "xuehui" (study society). What distinguished the YCA from others was the fact that it bred some of the pioneers of the "other roads",[6] most distinctive among whom were activists of the Chinese Youth Party (CYP).

Although the YCA forbade all members to participate in politics, it ironically ended up as a highly politicised organisation. With the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921 and the CYP in 1923, the association was ideologically divided into three groups. Led by Li Dazhao, members like Yun Daiying and Deng Zhongxia became firm

believers in Communism, pursuing the course of international revolution.[7] Headed by Zeng Qi, Li Huang and Zuo Shunsheng, sixteen YCA members became activists of the CYP, advocating the supremacy of nationalism and democracy[8]. Holding fast to their original vision of a Young China, Wang Guangqi and other liberals refused to get involved in politics and devoted all their energy to scholarly pursuits and the enlightenment of the Chinese masses.[9]

In an article commemorating Wang Guangqi's death, Zhou Taixuan, wrote the following passage aptly summarising Wang's inseparable relationship with the YCA:

> The reason that Wang Guangqi had such a connection with the YCA is that he wanted to use it to realise his ideal. It can be simply put that he dedicated all his life to the association... Without YCA, Wang's life would have had no meaning and without Wang Guangqi, the association would have had no soul.[10]

The idea of forming an organisation for the purpose of transforming China into a young nation occurred to Wang as early as 1916, when he began to work for the *Jinghua ribao* [Beijing Daily]. Concerned with the fate of China, Wang, like other young intellectuals at the time, was determined to save her from destruction. Like Chen Duxiu a year earlier, Wang came to the realisation that in order to reform a degenerate society it was imperative first to arouse the consciousness of youth. Wang also believed that the vigour of youth was the very thing that a society as sick as China needed. On realising the futility of relying on a small group of like-minded friends to fight against the old system, Wang Guangqi and Zhou Taixuan, a friend from his school days in Chengdu, began to contemplate the idea of establishing a youth body on a large scale. Only in this way, they believed, could progressive youth be united into a force and a collective effort made. This idea was further fostered by their conviction that by setting up a youth organisation, a healthy environment in which Chinese youth could be protected from the evil influence of the society could be created and their goal of creating a Young China pursued. Hence in early 1917 Wang and Zhou started to liaise with people throughout the country and at the same time Wang, through his former classmate Zeng Qi, began to correspond with Chen Yu and Lei Baojing to secure the support of Chinese students in Japan. It was also at this time that Wang and Zhou started to be associated with Li Dazhao. Clearly impressed by their ideas, Li Dazhao not only gave them his full support but also participated enthusiastically in their discussions.[11]

While Wang Guangqi and Zhou Taixuan were busy preparing for the inauguration of the organisation, the already tense national situation worsened dramatically. Succumbing to pressure from the Japanese government, the Duan Qirui government started to negotiate secret deals. To begin concerted actions against the government's policy, Zeng Qi, in

1917, helped set up the Overseas Chinese News Service in Tokyo and organised the Corps of Chinese Students in Japan for National Salvation soon after.[12] After the Sino-Japanese secret treaties containing the so-called Nishihara loans and the Sino-Japanese Military Mutual Assistance Conventions were made public in Japanese newspapers on May 3, 1918, Zeng Qi led a mass exodus of Chinese students back to China. And among them were Zhang Shangling and Lei Baojing who were to become founding members of the YCA. Their arrival helped speed up the preparation process of YCA. Frequent meetings between Wang Guangqi and the other six founding members of the YCA began to take place.[13]

On June 30, 1918, an inaugural meeting attended by Wang Guangqi, Chen Yu, Zhang Shangling, Zhou Taixuan, Zeng Qi and Lei Baojing was held at Yueyun villa in Beijing which marked the beginning of the YCA. At the meeting Wang Guangqi was elected to draft a constitution for the association. It was based on Wang's draft that the other six founding members finalised a constitution of seventy articles.[14]

In its constitution, the YCA was defined as an organisation "exclusively for youth activities". It "seeks to unite all the youth of China in a bid to create a new life for China and usher in a new era for East Asia" and its ultimate goal was to "create a Young China".[15] By Young China, it meant: (a). a China that is progressive, creative (meaning it must not just imitate the past or the West), and full of youthful spirit; (b). "Young China" must go beyond the family system and extend its responsibilities to the whole society by developing a system of mutual assistance and bridging the gap between difference classes; (c). "Young China" must adopt a scientific attitude in all its endeavours.[16] To be more specific, Wang also listed the following four aims as ways to achieving this end: (a). to stir up youth spirit; (b). to concentrate on true learning; (c). to promote social causes, by which he meant education for reform, development of industry and commerce; and (d). to bring about a change in the general mood of a society in decline. "Striving, practicality, endurance and frugality" was to be their motto.[17]

It is clear that by forming the association, Wang Guangqi demonstrated what was to become his lifelong belief that in order to achieve national salvation, a fundamental transformation of culture has to precede any serious political revolution, and only by dedicating themselves to "social causes" and "true learning", would the youth of China be in a position to rejuvenate the nation without having to resort to violent revolution and political activism. By identifying "social causes" and emphasising the concept of mutual aid as the key to social reform, Wang took on a spiritual identity with Cai Yuanpei and shared Cai's dream of "social happiness and ultimate harmony of all mankind..."[18] It is also clear that by emphasising the importance of youth in social transformation, Wang agreed with Chen Duxiu in the belief that "the principal actors within the society should no longer be the scholar-gentry but the new student stratum."[19]

The period immediately after the inaugural meeting saw Wang Guangqi's increasing preoccupation with the association. To allow time for proper preparation, it was agreed that the association would be formally established a year later and Wang was to be in charge of all the preparation work. On July 1, 1919, at the first YCA congress held in Beijing Wang was entrusted with the double responsibilities of chairing the executive committee and the general affairs department. He was also asked to work with Li Dazhao, Yun Daiying, and Kang Baiqing at the department of compilation and translation. It was largely due to Wang Guangqi's energy and resourcefulness that, in the brief period of one year, the association grew from a seven-man band to an organisation with a large following.[20] As a matter of fact, among leaders of the CCP, Mao Zedong, Zhao Shiyan, Zhang Wentian, and Yun Daiying were personally introduced to the YCA by Wang Guangqi.[21]

As Wang matured, he also exercised his growing influence as a writer, editor, and journal founder. This can be seen through his involvement with the association's journal *Young China* (Shaonian Zhongguo).[22] As a prolific writer, Wang's articles began to appear as early as 1918 when *the Newsletters of the YCA* (Huiwu baogao), the predecessor of the journal, came into being. From July 1918 to July 1924, Wang contributed some fifteen major essays, two poems, six general surveys of the financial, agricultural, and industrial situations of various European countries, and a number of miscellaneous writings. In addition to writing, he took an active part in editing as well. In fact, it was under Wang's sole editorship that the first seven issues of the journal were published.[23] Wang was also instrumental in founding the YCA's second journal *Young World* (Shaonian shijie).[24]

Wang Guangqi's Social and Political Views

In general, the ideas Wang Guangqi expressed during this period were similar to those shared by the leaders of the New Cultural movement, particularly the six members of the editorial board of *New Youth*. For instance, in a tone similar to Chen Duxiu's famous "Call to youth", Wang hailed youth as "the only good friend in creating a young China".[25] Wang, as mentioned earlier, also agreed with Chen in belief in the vanguard role of youth in China's transformation and emphasised emphatically the importance of youthful spirit in a nation's redemption.[26] This is not surprising given the fact that both Wang and Chen were alienated from the values and beliefs on which they had been nourished during their childhood and were frustrated by the inability of the traditional social and political system to accommodate the rapid changes that China needed to undertake, and both were also leading figures of the New Culture movement. (Wang Guangqi was closely associated with the *New Youth* group and Chen Dixiu

"had some relation with the YCA before the May Fourth Incident but he refrained from joining it".)[27] However, Wang differed from Chen Duxiu in that his iconoclasm was never as totalistic as that of Chen. It is true that Wang believed in the necessity of a total reformation of "all institutional structures"[28] but there is little evidence to suggest that he had in actuality advocated the total rejection of the Chinese tradition. Nor had he ever taken Confucianism and other traditional Chinese ideas and values to task. In fact, it was in Confucianism that Wang was to find inspiration for a Chinese cultural renaissance in 1923.[29] To be sure, Wang did argue for such Western concepts as democracy and science, but there is little evidence to suggest that Wang believed, as Chen did, that Confucianism and "the new belief, the new society, and the new state"[30] were fundamentally incompatible. As a consequence, when Chen Duxiu preoccupied himself with the idea of a complete destruction of the tradition, Wang Guangqi showed more interest in uprooting the anachronistic and harmful elements within the Chinese tradition.[31] By not totally rejecting Confucianism, Wang shared Cai Yuanpei's faith in some of the "deeper Confucian values which traditionally gave meaning and purpose to human existence in China."[32] Although Wang, like Chen, was fully aware of the revolutionary potential of youth, he was also concerned with the fate of those "uncontaminated" youth in such a sick environment as China. This concern, as mentioned earlier, was one of the major reasons to form the YCA and the Work-study Mutual Assistance Group[33]. In this respect, Wang reminds us of another *New Youth* leader, the great writer Lu Xun and his cry "to save the children".[34] Yet unlike Lu Xun, who was often overwhelmed by a sense of nihilism,[35] Wang seldom revealed any trace of pessimism and almost all his writings are characterised by an irrepressible sense of optimism, even though he was not infrequently in adversity. Besides, Wang's attitude toward Chinese culture, as mentioned above, was also at odds with Lu Xun's dark view that traditional Chinese learning consisted of nothing but "a cannibal feast".

Despite his burning patriotism, Wang Guangqi did not become an unwavering anti-imperialist in the wake of the May Fourth Incident. Nor did he show any sign of being a staunch nationalist, even though nationalism was "a dominant passion of the May Fourth experience".[36] On the contrary, as if he were responding to Chen Duxiu's call "Be cosmopolitan, not isolationist",[37] Wang demonstrated similar internationalist sentiment in several of his writings. For instance, in an article published in August 1919, Wang wrote: "China should be understood as a geographical term such as Asia, Zhili [Hebei], not as a nation. I am a believer in the World of Great Unity (Datong shijie)."[38] The reason why Chinese youth should reform China first, Wang went on to explain, was because China was yet to become a worthy part of the world. In other words, China in Wang Guangqi's eyes was too backward to be reckoned equally with other nations. In order to make China acceptable to the international community it was mandatory to

bring about a fundamental change in China first. Wang seemed quite resolute about abandoning the Chinese nationalism so prevalent among Chinese youth and embraced whole-heartedly the idea of internationalism. So much so he even went on to state: "as far as I am concerned, there is no such thing as a national boundary. Our efforts to bring happiness to human beings should not be confined to the territories of China." "Nationalism, which has been very much in vogue recently, has no place in my article."[39]

Perhaps the most salient similarity Wang Guangqi and Chen shared was their spirit of non-political involvement. As Meisner has observed: "In founding *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* in the autumn of 1915, Ch'en Tu-hsiu had declared that the journal would avoid political involvement and would refuse even to discuss political issues."[40] Wang's objection to political participation was no less strong but certainly more consistent than that of Chen. As we have seen, in formulating the aims of the YCA, Wang made it clear that his primary interest was in "social causes" and "true learning"[41] and he, as a matter of principle, was fiercely against political involvement. This shows that Wang and his associates not only agreed with Chen Duxiu in his early insistence that, to borrow Meisner's words, "the foundation of the progress of the masses is in education and industry and not in politics…" but also "reflected a tendency dominant among the acknowledged leaders of the advanced intelligentsia." [42] However, what distinguishes Wang from Chen in this respect is Wang Guangqi's steadfastness in his objection to political activism. Whereas Chen began to resume links with politics soon after 1919, Wang, as will be seen below, never changed his attitude toward politics and showed no reservations and misgivings on the point. What should be pointed out is that Chen had always been interested in politics and his departure from politics at the beginning of the New Culture movement "was a self-imposed separation demanded by his basic intellectual orientation",[43] whereas Wang had hardly shown any enthusiasm for politics throughout his life.[44]

Despite his dissatisfaction with Bolshevist totalitarianism (this point will be discussed below), Wang Guangqi, unlike Hu Shi, never fully embraced the idea of wholesale Westernisation based on the American model.[45] He, on the contrary, was actually very cynical about it. Although favouring the idea of government by the people, he doubted the relevance of the system to the wellbeing of the toiling masses. This scepticism not doubt had its roots in Wang Guangqi's lack of faith in the Western powers. But more importantly it reflected his loathing for politics as evidenced by the following quotation:

> Whenever my friends mention the word "politics", notions of "unmatched happiness for the few", "being manipulated by careerists", "the cause of world unrest", "the source of all evils" occur in my mind instantly.[46]

What further alienated Wang Guangqi from advocates of American-style democracy was what he saw to be the extreme materialism exhibited by some of the Americans. "Because of the Americans' great love for money," Wang wrote in May 1919, "financial magnates unmatched anywhere in the world come into being. The lives of ordinary people under these magnates are as miserable as those we lead under the warlords."[47]

Whereas these remarks are reflective of Wang's rather immature thoughts on change, the ideas he expressed in the articles, "The Creation of Young China" and "The Spirit of YCA and Its Plan of Future Action", leave us little doubt that by the second half of 1919, Wang had developed a firm belief in the paramount importance of education and industry in solving China's problems. By giving priority to social reform ahead of political revolution, Wang clearly identified himself with Cai Yuanpei, Hu Shi and other proponents of liberalism and further distanced himself from the leftists. It is interesting to note that on July 26, 1919, less than a week after Hu Shi's "More Study of Problems, Less Talk of 'Isms'" appeared in *Weekly Review*,[48] Wang wrote "The Creation of a Young China" in which he called, in a manner similar to Hu Shi, for pragmatic action. Wang was also in full accord with Hu's specific suggestion that problems must take precedence over "isms". However, there the similarities ended. Whereas Hu dwelt on the theme of problem-solving and dismissed the importance of "ism" as nothing more than a means to an end, Wang focused more on the unreadiness of the Chinese populace to accept any "ism."[49] Wang wrote in July 1919:

> Each 'ism' has its own special 'training'(xunlian). For instance, nationalism must first instil a sense of patriotism among people, socialism must teach people to oppose the mentality of private ownership, anarchism must implant the idea of anti-establishment. Yet there are trainings such as group life (tuanti shenghuo), working habit etc, which are required by all the 'isms'.[50]

One of the basic tasks of the YCA, Wang explained, was to prepare the Chinese people to be a worthy part of the world community.

As a leader, Wang did not stop at mere theoretical reasoning. He impressed others most by his sincerity in practising what he preached. In fact, it was his spirit of social activism that set him apart from Hu Shi and brought him close to the leftists. As Chow Tse-tsung has pointed out:

> It is also ironical that in 1920, just after their suggestion of 'more study of problems' very few liberals joined the social survey or labour movements, whereas many of the socialists and their associates started to go among the workers and peasants to study their living conditions.[51]

Although Wang did not join the socialists in their investigations, his role in founding *The Young World,* a magazine dedicated to practical learning, economic surveys and labour problems, was indicative of his pragmatist inclinations. Moreover, when the Beijing University Commoners' Education Lecture Society was established in March 1919, Wang Guangqi was one of the first few to join.[52] Another concrete step Wang took in the hope of putting his training programme into practice, perhaps the most important one, was to set up in 1919 the hugely influential utopian organisation - The Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group.[53]

The Ideological Conflicts Among Members of the YCA

In analysing the ideological and political split of the intellectuals in the later years of the May Fourth Movement, Chow Tse-tsung points out:

> The spirit of unity prevalent among the new intellectuals during the months immediately following the May Fourth Incident was only superficial, a temporary result of the fact that they all faced a common opposition. Beyond their shared intention to re-evaluate tradition and promote new learning, there was little evidence of a single mind among them.[54]

Perhaps no other grouping illustrates this assertion better than the YCA.

YCA was established on the principle of toleration for various views. It is possible that Wang Guangqi was inspired by the liberal approaches Cai Yuanpei held in reforming the National Beijing University. Like Cai, Wang Guangqi was well aware that "every member of the YCA has his own "*ism*" and clings to it with extreme steadfastness and total commitment"[55] and therefore it is not advisable to force them to accept a common doctrine.[56] Given this liberal orientation the complex ideological composition of the YCA membership is not surprising.

According to their ideological inclinations, members of the YCA can be loosely classified into three groups: leftists, rightists and liberals. Led by Li Dazhao, the members belonging to the first group included Yun Daiying, Deng Zhongxia, Mao Zedong, and others. The second group consisted of Zeng Qi, Li Huang, Zuo Shunsheng, and Yu Jiaju, who later became founders of the CYP. The liberals such as Wang Guangqi, Wei Shizhen, and Shu Xincheng constituted the majority in the association. While the former two groups were soon to be conditioned by their political beliefs, the third group was more committed to promoting such social causes as education, industry, journalism, agriculture and scientific research. At the early stage of the association, the right wing group was in line with the liberals in advocating the paramount importance of education and industrial enterprises in China's salvation.

During the YCA's existence of more than six years, two major issues - ideological orientation and political involvement - proved most controversial and were largely responsible for the final split up of the association.

Prior to the formal launching of the association, Wang made it clear that he did not favour the idea of a common doctrine. Instead Wang suggested that members look at the four objectives prescribed in the YCA constitution for guidance.[57] Li Dazhao was the first to become concerned about the association's lack of ideological orientation. He first raised the issue at a meeting of various progressive societies held in Beijing on August 16, 1919. Three days later, he reiterated his point by expressing his wish to see the YCA under a common doctrine.[58] There is little doubt that the doctrine Li had in mind was none other than Soviet-style socialism even though he did not state it explicitly.

Li Dazhao's reluctance to share his fellow members' pragmatic views on social reforms was by no means a spur of the moment thing. It came from his deep-seated conviction that the total salvation of China required a revolution similar to the one that had recently taken place in Russia. After being convinced by "the universalistic Bolshevik message" in summer 1918,[59] Li began to make frequent speeches at YCA gatherings, discussing and evaluating the actual application of the Russian experience in China. At the end of 1918, Li formed the famous "Marxist Research Society" and held frequent discussions on Marxism with students like Deng Zhongxia, Gao Junyu and a few others who were soon to become members of the YCA.

Although Li Dazhao's enthusiasm for an "ism" failed to provoke an immediate response from the majority of YCA members, it struck a harmonious chord among a group of radical students in Beijing University who had been gathering around him since late 1918. Deng Zhongxia, Li's favourite, was particularly keen to see the issue of "ism" discussed at the YCA congress.[60] However, what prevented Li and his cohorts from pursuing this agenda was the fact that although Li believed the Russian October Revolution of 1917 represented a "manifestation of the general psychological transformation of twentieth century humanity,"[61] his response was largely emotional, as can be clearly seen by this quotation. As Dirlik has observed, he was yet to become fully committed to the organisation of a political party.[62] That is why left wing YCA members did not actively advocate socialism as the guiding ideology for the YCA until June 1921.[63]

Despite their enthusiasm, the great majority of the YCA members were far from being convinced of the effectiveness of socialism in curing China's ills, let alone adopting it as an overriding ideology. It is true that "socialist literature, anarchism, Marx, and Kropotkin", as John Dewey observed in 1921, "ran like wild-fire through reading circles."[64] Yet the popularity of socialism does not necessarily translate into the Chinese intellectuals' unanimous acceptance of it. Scepticism and criticism abounded. Moreover, liberal intellectuals were reluctant, in some cases even vehemently opposed

to, empty "talk of fanciful, flashy 'isms' while casting a blind eye to pressing problems".[65]

Deeply disturbed by the bloodshed and human sufferings caused by violent revolutions in Europe, Li Huang was the first YCA member to voice his scepticism on the Marxist and Leninist forms of socialism. His criticism of the doctrine, though similar to that of the Chinese anarchists,'[66] is typical of trends in liberal circles. What should be pointed out here is that although Li Huang was concerned about the wellbeing of the masses, he did not at this time, March 1919, subject socialism to thoroughgoing criticism. Nor did he slander it as one Communist historian has stated.[67] Rather, he took the advocates of the doctrine to task, blaming them for failing to insist that the masses be 'enlightened' before a revolution was set in motion. Clearly inspired by the writings of Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Chernyshevskii, Li asserted that in order to lay a solid foundation for drastic changes it was crucial to educate the masses first.[68] Li Huang made it clear that he was neither keen nor ready to commit himself to any "ism". Agreeing with Wang Guangqi, Li believed that YCA should concentrate on finding ways of reforming Chinese society at the grassroots level. Although not ruling out the possibility of adopting a guiding "ism" in the future, Li Huang was strongly opposed to the idea of embracing an "ism" without a firm grasp of its meaning.[69]

Li Huang was not alone in his view. In fact, most members of the YCA took a similar stand. Alarmed by the leftist members' push for a common ideology and their enthusiasm for political activism, Shanghai members, led by Zuo Shunsheng, warned sternly against what they regarded as a dangerous trend, urging them to restrain their excitement for politics and adhere to the aim of the association by "doing more study, talking less about 'isms'".[70] Their warning was deeply appreciated by Wang Guangqi. In a letter written in July 1919, Wang Guangqi revealed the same kind of concerns he had been having and gave his full endorsement to their admonition.[71]

Being an intellectual in the May Fourth era, Wang was inevitably swamped by Western ideas and naturally showed some interest in socialism. However, after the initial period of excitement, Wang, like the Russian anarchists and their Chinese counterparts, was quick to reflect on the merits and shortcomings of the doctrine. As a result, he was rather alarmed by the loss of freedom under totalitarian rule. He questioned specifically the wisdom of too much emphasis on collectivism and state power. Under a system of total state control, Wang suspected, ordinary people would become little more than machines. Wang also cast doubt on the effectiveness of the socialist ideology in solving China's problems and was sceptical about the applicability of the Russian-style socialist system to the Chinese environment. Given the fact, Wang argued in 1919, that the Chinese people had always been strong advocates of individualism and non-interventionism, it would be wrong to adopt an authoritarian system as meddlesome and intrusive as the Russian Bolshevism.[72]

Wang's fascination with utopian socialism, anarchism and his love of Taoist teaching may explain his distaste for excessive state power. As some research has shown, while Li Dazhao was engrossed in the study of dialectical materialism and the works of Lenin, Bukharin and Plekanov, Wang was more absorbed by the writings of Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier and found the Japanese utopian social movement - "atarashiki mura" (new village) - led by Mushanokoji Saneatsu, more to his liking. Like Cai Yuanpei, Wang was particularly drawn by the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin's theories and believed his mutual-aid concept was more suitable to China's needs. Wang's involvement in the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Groups in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai in 1919-20 amply reflects this inclination[73]

The Nanjing Meeting

The YCA annual meeting held in Nanjing in July 1921 saw the leftists' increasing zeal for socialism and the liberals as well as the rightists' growing opposition to any attempt to convert the association to a socialist organisation.

Attributing the association's failure to make great impact on Chinese society to its lack of a unifying ideology, Deng Zhongxia, now an unwavering communist, formally raised the issue of "ism". It was only by pointing its members in a common direction, Deng argued, that the danger of going along a wrong way could be avoided.[74] Deng's call was echoed by Huang Rikui, Gao Junyu and other leftists but vehemently rejected by the majority of the attending members. The latter argued that since the YCA was founded on the principle of freedom for individual beliefs, forcing members to accept a common doctrine would contravene this principle and therefore put the unity of the association in jeopardy. Refusing to compromise, Deng retorted that if adopting a doctrine proved to be beneficial to the realisation of a Young China, all sacrifices - including the dissolution of the association itself - were necessary.[75] Deng Zhongxia and his supporters also exacerbated the conflict by seeking to lift the association's ban on political involvement. They argued that it was impossible for them to be mere onlookers of politics in the post-May Fourth circumstances.[76] This move was also rejected by other members and the Nanjing meeting ended without reaching any resolution on the two issues.

Although living now in Germany, Wang Guangqi was acutely aware of the issues. In a written statement, Wang made it clear that, "the association should not label itself under any 'ism'".[77] Instead, it "should give a detailed description of its political, economic and social structures as well as the steps and means of achieving it." Rather than wasting time on high-toned

talk of "isms", Wang Guangqi reiterated, the YCA should employ this detailed description as its guiding principle.[78]

While Wang's opposition to adopting a foreign doctrine was expressed in soft tones, his objection to political participation could not have been more strongly worded:

> Our association advocates social causes and opposes political activities. This is where the spirit of the association lies and this should be clearly defined at this year's general meeting. Anyone who goes against this spirit should be asked to quit on the ground that he runs counter to the aims of the association.[79]

Apparently annoyed by the leftist members' unwillingness to await the slow process of cultivating a whole new culture among the Chinese people before taking part in politics, Wang wrote in October 1919 in an article entitled "Political activity and Social activity":

> Among the resolutions made at the Nanjing meeting, some are rather disturbing. The one which extends the concept of social causes - the fundamental stand of the association - to include political activities is particularly relevant to the question of the 'life and death' of the association. It, therefore, has to be addressed.[80]

Once again Wang emphasised the non-political nature of the YCA and urged members to adhere to the aim of the association - that is, to use their own English translation, "Our Association dedicates itself to Social Services under the guidance of the Scientific Spirit, in order to realize our ideal of Creating a Young China"[81], and dedicate themselves to social causes. In an uncompromising tone Wang wrote:

> As far as I am concerned, there is room for negotiation in everything except the issue of political involvement. The association may be disbanded but its spirit should not be lost. Since this issue has become pivotal to the life and death of the organisation, I propose that the executive committee hold a general ballot. If the majority is in favour of political participation, we, the minority, who obstinately cling to the aim and the motto of the association, shall quit voluntarily. If the majority is opposed to political activities, those who advocate political involvement should respect the public will and leave the association.[82]

Wang Guangqi's Justifications for Objecting to Political Participation

Although Wang Guangqi's belief that education and industry were the foundations for progress reflected the dominant tendency among liberal intellectuals in the May Fourth period, there were elements in his thought that distinguished him from them. Wang Guangqi's opposition to political involvement is a case in point.

In Wang's opinion, there were four kinds of reform: (1). political reform by political means; (2). Social reform by political means; (3). political reform by social means; (4). social reform by social means. The first one, Wang regarded as "short-sighted" and a means by which "nothing significant could be accomplished". The second type, defined as "using political means to reform society", had fault in its methodology and it was therefore not worth pursuing. Although the third, to "use social force to reform politics," had its merits it was nevertheless not considered as the best way to solve China's social and political problems. The ideal form of action was the fourth. Only by advocating "social reform by social means", Wang asserted, could the ills of China be cured in a total and thorough fashion.[83]

Here a series of questions arise: What did Wang mean by saying "political reform by political means"? Who were the chief advocates of this approach? Why did he regard it as "short-sighted"? What experience had China had in this kind of reform?

"Political reform by political means", Wang explained, seeks "to use political methods to reform politics" and this approach was advocated by those who vigorously engage themselves in political activities. To them, Wang wrote, "the completion of political reform means the end of their aspirations", thus the approach as well as those who advocate it are "short-sighted".[84] The experience China had in this kind of reform was "the two reform movements", namely, the 1898 reform and the 1911 Revolution. Although different in form, they were, Wang argued, essentially identical. In other words, "they all aimed at seizing political power and then using political power to carry out reforms on a large scale." Wang Guangqi was convinced that "those who believe in political reform have two fundamental convictions: (a). the reform of a society has to be brought about by way of politics; (b). bureaucrats are omnipotent." "From the former," Wang analysed, "[the notion] of political movement derives, from the latter, [the idea of] sage politics stems."[85] It was due to these convictions, Wang argued, that "what the participants of the two movements fervently attacked was the Manchu regime; what they wanted was political power; what they became fascinated with was the Meiji Reformation of Japan; what they advocated was military politics". "Yet what is the result today?" asked Wang Guangqi, "after fulfilling their ambitions, the partisans of the Progressive and the Nationalist parties have been engaging in both open strife and veiled

struggle. They take bribes and bend the law. Being short-sighted and perverse in their conduct, they have accomplished nothing."[86] Apart from resulting in superficial changes, the 1898 reform and the 1911 Revolution, in Wang's opinion, had achieved next to nothing, particularly in terms of transforming the general state of profound apathy amongst the Chinese masses.

In further explanation of his objection to political activism, Wang Guangqi in October 1921 provided the following five reasons: (1). because those who advocated political activities saw political power as the fundamental means to China's reform and political power was by no means easy to get, they would inevitably waste most of their life time struggling for power and therefore risk letting slip a golden opportunity of achieving the aim because of means; (2). there was no "proper class force" in China to sustain a decent government even if political power could be seized; (3). reform policy could not be effectively implemented even if by any chance political power were sustained; (4). the idea of reforming a society from top to bottom, namely the so-called "sage politics" approach, was not compatible with the spirit of the time; (5). the existence of a powerful Chinese government would not be tolerated by big powers which "glared at China like a tiger eyeing its prey."[87]

It is true, explained Wang, that the Meiji Reform in Japan was to a certain extent a success. But the Japanese experience was not applicable to China. The success of political reform in Japan was, in Wang's opinion, largely due to her small territory, a fact which made the implementation of reform policy considerably easier. The case of Russia on the other hand was different. The improvement of living conditions in Russia, Wang argued, was neither the result of the political reform initiated by Peter the Great nor the outcome of the Bolshevik revolution led by Lenin, but due entirely to the educational endeavours of Leo Tolstoy and the work of those social activists who, seeking to help peasants to express their own aspirations for social change, went to villages in 1875-8 to instil socialist ideas.[88] Given the vastness of China's territory and the unenlightened customs of the Chinese masses, it was impossible, Wang asserted, to achieve any meaningful political outcomes without curing the spiritual ailments of the Chinese people first. The result of Wang's disapproval of reform by political means was his conviction that "we should not spend ninety-nine percent of our time seeking to seize political power as a means to reform China. From now on, we must devote our lifetime and all our energy to social causes."[89] Only by education and industry, Wang reiterated, could people's thought be enlightened, their lives enriched, society transformed, and the populace "trained" (xunlian) into a political force. Without these developments, political reform would be a fantasy.[90]

Clearly delighted by the cultural focus of the New Culture movement, Wang wrote in 1921:

> The so-called New Culture movement is a reflection of the advancement from political reform to social reform. Had this path been followed with effort and persistence, the spirit of pure brightness of our nation would have been restored with little difficulty in no time.[91]

However, saddened by the later development of the movement, Wang's whole-hearted praise was soon replaced by severe criticism of the radical youths' unwillingness to wait for the development of a new culture before they embraced themselves in politics.

> Not long after [the May Fourth movement], some young participants of the New Culture movement forgot completely the lesson drawn from the last thirty years, totally discarded the quintessence of the movement - social reform - and they are following once again the same old disastrous road trodden by political parties in the previous years. The glimpse of hope for China is lost forever.[92]

As if these words were not alarming enough to awaken the benighted, Wan went on to lament the suggestion put forward by advocates of socialism tha youths should plunge themselves into politics by saying that this truly "mad people cry their hearts out and weep bitterly with a long sigh".[93]

Despite his staunch objection to political participation, Wang was aware the impracticality of forbidding members from taking part in politics, and the impossibility of separating social causes from political activism. F instance, he would not object to members' working for government organisations that are for public good. But he made it clear that the kind "political activity that should not be tolerated" was to become a bureaucrat member of the parliament.[94] In Wang's view, to be a bureaucrat would r counter to the aim of the YCA and in any case, it would be futile to be member of parliament in a backward country like China where proper "cla forces" were yet to be formed. Moreover, considering the widespre corruption in Chinese politics and particularly the prevalent practice intimidation and bribery in parliamentary elections, it would be in t association's best interest to keep away from these activities in case its membe lost their moral integrity.[95]

The Dissolution of the YCA

After the Nanjing meeting in July 1921, the fundamental difference between the rightists and the leftists began to become more and more apparent. In July 1922, the third YCA annual meeting was held in Hangzhou. By now the Chinese Communist Party had been in existence for over a year and

most of the left wing members had not only thrust themselves unreservedly into this cause but had also increased their pressure to convert the YCA into a Marxist organisation.[96]

Alarmed by the communists' growing influence among the young, and angered by their close affiliation with the Russian-led Comintern, Zeng Qi and Li Huang, now both in Paris, began writing articles expounding their ultra-nationalist (guojia zhuyi) point of view. Their nationalistic feelings were further fueled by foreign dominance, particularly the swift expansion of Christian influence, in China's educational scene.[97] To make their voice heard, Li Huang and Yu Jiaju wrote a series of articles urging Chinese educators to use Chinese culture to counterbalance the Christian influence.[98] Their call for nationalist education was responded to favorably by Chen Qitian, Zuo Shunsheng, Cao Chu and other ultra-nationalist YCA members.[99] Subsequently, *Young China*, now under the editorship of the right wing members, published a series of articles on ultra-nationalism. At the same time in France Zeng Qi, Li Huang and He Luzhi became engaged in heated polemics with Zhou Enlai and members of the CCP. [100] On December 2, 1923, a group of right-wing YCA members formally launched the CYP in Paris and therefore became the backbone of the so-called third force in China's political arena.[101]

The founding of the CYP demonstrated that the ideological differences between the leftists and the rightists had undergone a qualitative change. It sent a clear signal that some intellectuals who had formerly belonged to the liberal camp were beginning to unite into a force and were ready to commit themselves to a political ideology. Moreover, as Eastman points out, the leaders of the CYP "were advocates of democratic constitutionalism" and "they were even more strongly [than the KMT], as a matter of principle, opposed to Communism."[102] When fierce struggles for dominance intensified, the YCA's founding principle of tolerating different beliefs so treasured by Wang Guangqi was ignored. This new development was most manifestly demonstrated in the events after the fifth annual meeting of the YCA in Nanjing in July 1924.[103]

The last YCA meeting was held in Nanjing in July 1925. Attended by eighteen key members of both the CYP and the CCP, this meeting marked the final rupture between the two major factions. The rightists' insistence on adopting ultra-nationalism as the YCA ideological line provoked fierce opposition from the Communists. As the leftists and the rightists appeared to be equal in strength and neither side was prepared to compromise, the dissolution of the association had become inevitable.[104]

For Wang Guangqi, it must have been extremely disappointing to see his beloved YCA come to such an end. Naturally he did everything he could to bring the members together. He sought to reconcile the two groups by reiterating his consistent liberal stance but to no avail. In desperation, he suggested that the association could still exist, even if the communists refused to co-operate with the ultra-nationalists. Wang argued that, if worse came to worst - namely the two groups refusing to be in the same

organization - there remained members who were still committed to carrying out the original objectives of the association.[105] Sadly, Wang's plea went unheeded. Similar efforts on the part of the liberal members proved equally futile. The Nanjing meeting was virtually the swan song of the YCA. With the left wing members and the right wing members now going on separate paths, the activities of the association came to an end, although the dissolution of the association has never been formally proclaimed. [106]

Conclusion

The history of the YCA reflects in microcosm the struggles of the Chinese intellectuals in the May Fourth era. The YCA intellectuals came together for the common end of creating a young, rich, prosperous China and split as a result of different beliefs about means to that end. The communists, once convinced by Marxism, pursued a cause of communist revolution and many of them, like Li Dazhao, Deng Zhongxia and Zhao Shiyan died for it. The rightists persisted with their nationalist cause and suffered at the hands of both the CCP and the KMT as a result of their beliefs. The liberals, undisturbed by political upheavals and ideological conflicts, dedicated their lives to learning and social causes and most of them distinguished themselves in their chosen fields. Perhaps Wang Guangqi, as the principal founder of the YCA, might have felt some satisfaction if he had lived into the 50s. After all, many of those who had been involved in the YCA were among the most influential political and intellectual figures on both mainland China and Taiwan and left their indelible marks on the history of modern China.

Notes

* A shorter version of the paper was presented at the 12th New Zealand International Conference on Asian Studies in 1997.

1 Li Yongtai, "Wang Guangqi yu Mao Zedong de jiaowang lueshu" [A Brief Account of the Association between Wang Guangqi and Mao Zedong] in Bi Xing and Wan Shuqing eds., *Huangzhong liuyun ji*, hereafter HJ (Chengdu: 1993), pp.518-19; also see, *Shaonian Zhongguo* [Young China] (Beijing: 1919- 1924) hereafter SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 8, p.66.

2 Han Liwen, Bi Xing comp., *Wang Guangqi nianpu* [A Chronicle of Wang Guangqi's Life] (Beijing: 1987), pp.15-23

3 For a preliminary study of Wang's works on music, see Gong Hong-yu "Wang Guangqi's Life and Works (1892-1936)" MA Thesis (Auckland University, 1992), pp.131-58; for a list of Wang's works, see Zhu Daihong "Wang Guangqi zhuzuo wenzhang ji youguan ziliao mulu" [An Index to Wang Guangqi's Works and Other Related Materials] in Li Wen, Bi Xing and Zhu Zhou eds., *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* [Selected Essays on Wang Guangqi] (Chengdu: 1985) hereafter YJLW, pp.342-57.

4 At its height, members of the YCA could be found in almost all Chinese provinces, and France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, America, Japan, and Southeast Asia.

See *Wusi shiqi de qikan jieshao* [An Introduction to the Periodicals Published in the May Fourth Era] (Beijing: Sanlian, 1979), hereafter WSQK, Vol.1, p.235.
[5] Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp.251-53, particularly note q.
[6] Roger B. Jeans, "Introduction" in Roger B. Jeans ed., *Roads Not Taken: The Struggle of Opposition Parties in Twentieth-Century China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p.1.
[7] Members in this camp also included Mao Zedong, Zhao Shiyan, Gao Junyu, Zhang Wentian, Yang Xianjiang, Huang Rikuei, Shen Zemin, Hou Shaoqiu, Zhang Shenfu and four others.
[8] Key members of the CYP such as Chen Qitian, Yu Jiaju, Zhang Mengjiu and He Luzhi were all YCA members.
[9] Included in this group were some prominent scholars and novelists such as Zhou Taixuan, Li Jieren, Zong Baihua, Fang Dongmei, Yuan Tongli, Zhu Ziqing, and Shu Xincheng.
[10] Zhou Taixuan, "Wang Guangqi xiansheng yu Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" [Mr Wang Guangqi and the YCA] in *Wang Guangqi jinian ce* [Remembering Wang Guangqi], (Shanghai: 1939), p.19.
[11] Zhou Taixuan, "Guanyu canjia faqi Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de huiyi" [Recollections of My Participation in the Founding of the YCA] in Zhang Yunhou, Yan Xuyi et al. comps., *Wusishiqi de shetuan* [Societies and Associations in the May Fourth Period] (Beijing: Sanlian, 1979), hereafter WSST, Vol.1, pp. 538-89.
[12] H.L.Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), Vol.3, p.309.
[13] Li Huang, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de faqi yu chengli" [The Initiation and Establishment of the YCA] in *Zhuanji wenxue* [Biographical Literature], hereafter ZJWX, Vol.35, Issue.1, p.11. Zuo Shunsheng, "Ji Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" [Recollections of the YCA] in ZJWX, Vol.35, Issue.1, p.35.
[14] In the past Chinese communist historians were in the habit of exaggerating Li Dazhao's role in founding the YCA. However, some encouraging signs have appeared in the last two decades in the study of the YCA in which Wang Guangqi's crucial role has been recognised though with some reservation. See Han Lingxuan "Li Dazhao yu Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" [Li Dazhao and the YCA] in *Beifang luncong* [Northen Forum], No. 5 (1980), pp.102-05, 128.
[15] Wang Guangqi, "Benhui faqi zhi zhiqu jiqi jingguo qingxing" [The Initiation and the Whole Organisational Process of Our Association] in WSST, Vol.1, pp. 219-20.
[16] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo zhi chuangzhao" [The Creation of a Young China] in SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 2 (1919), pp.1-7.
[17] Wang Guangqi, "Benhui faqi ...." in WSST, Vol.1, pp. 219-20
[18] William J. Duiker, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and the Confucian Heritage"in *Modern Asian Studies, Vol.*5, no.3 (1971), p.217. Cai was very supportive of Wang's activities in this period and he was particularly impressed by Wang's initiation of the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group, see Cai Yuanpei, "Gongdu huzhutuan de da xiwang" [The Big Hope of the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group] in SNZG, Vol.1, issue 6 (Jan 1920), pp.1-2.
[19] Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu - Founder of the Chinese Communist Party.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p.40.
[20] Soon after the Yueyun meeting Zhang Shangling and Zeng Qi went to Shanghai, where they had previously established a newspaper called *Jiuguo ribao* [National Salvation Daily] aiming at exposing the traitorous activities of the Duan Qirui pro-Japanese regime and waging anti-Japanese propaganda war, thus most of the preparatory work was Wang Guangqi's sole effort; see Qin Xianci, "Fang Dongmei yu Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" [Fang Dongmei and the YCA] in ZJWX, Vol.31, Issue.3, p.80,
[21] Li Yongtai, "Wang Guangqi yu Mao Zedong ....." in HJ, pp.508-19. Wang Guangqi's charismatic manner helped draw a number of young intellectuals into YCA. Zong Baihua,

the late distinguished philosopher and scholar in aesthetics, wrote of the first impression Wang Guangqi made on him when he attended a meeting chaired by Wang in Shanghai on January 21, 1919: "Despite his youth, Wang was mature in thought and clear in mind. Everything he planned was in perfect order. The patriotic zeal he was imbued with was revealed unconsciously through his words and facial expressions. I held him in great esteem and had absolute confidence in him." Zong Baihua, "Shaonian Zhongguo huiyi diandi" [Some Recollections of the YCA] in WSST, Vol.1. p.554. Other members of the association also expressed their admiration for Wang Guangqi's intellectual capacity as well as his moral integrity in their reminiscence of the association, see Zuo Shunsheng, "Ji Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" [Recollections of the YCA] in ZJWX, Vol.35, Issue.1, p.35; Fang Dongmei, "Kuyi Zuo Shunsheng xiansheng" [Mr Zuo Shunsheng Remembered] in ZJWX, Vol.15, Issue.5, p.57.

[22] From July 1919 to May 1924, *Young China* published four volumes, each containing twelve issues. A journal of assorted contents, *Young China* can be roughly divided into two parts. The first part constitutes the main body of the journal, including articles written by members on such topics as science, literature, social issues, philosophy, education and translations from various languages. Discussions on worldview, outlooks on life, and so on were also included in this part. The second part consists of news, correspondence, and other miscellaneous information regarding the activities of the association, etc. Whenever a topic of common concern needed to be addressed, a special issue would appear. Altogether eleven such issues were published between 1920-1922, focusing on topics such as women's emancipation, poetics, new realism, French affairs, religion, the theory of relativity, and the problems of YCA, see WSQK, Vol.1, p.236. The journal also introduced a gamut of foreign writers to Chinese public. Works of world renowned figures such as Maupassant, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Jack London, Walt Whitman, Tagore, Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, Pushkin, Gorky, Daudet, Maeterlinck, Baudelaire, Blake and Shelley were either translated or introduced by the journal to Chinese readers; see Bonnie S. McDougall, *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China 1919-1925* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1977), pp.17-8.

[23] Li Dazhao and Kang Baiqing were initially assigned the task but neither of them had actually worked in that capacity until March 1920 when Wang Guangqi left for Shanghai to prepare for his journey to Europe. SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 8, p.62.

[24] Under the auspices of the Nanjing branch of the YCA, *Young World* was set up in response to the criticism that *Young China* put too much emphasis on theoretical discussion and did not give enough attention to practical investigation. But due to a lack of resources and the impracticality of running two journals at the same time, the YCA later decided to sacrifice *Young World.* For a detailed account of *Shaonian shijie*, see WSQK, Vol.1, pp. 270-79; For Wang Guangqi's involvement with the journal, see SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 6, pp.50, 56-7.

[25] WSST, Vol.1, p.220.

[26] Ibid. pp.286-87.

[27] Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement,* p.80.

[28] "Zhi Junzuo" [Letter to Junzuo] in WSST, Vol.1, p.293.

[29] Wang Guangqi, *Ouzhou yinyue jinhuan lun* (On the Evolution of European Music), originally published in 1923 by Zhonghua shuju but this reference is to YYLW, pp.42-54.

[30] Lin Yu-sheng, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti-traditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), p.76.

[31] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo zhi ...." in SNZG,Vol.1, Issue. 2, p.1.

[32] William J. Duiker, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei ..."in *Modern Asian Studies, Vol.*5, no.3 (1971), p.207.

[33] Wang Guangqi's involvement in the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group is very important and it warrants a separate article. For an account of this organisation, see WSST, Vol.2, pp.392-496; for a discussion, see Li Yongtai and Liu Ping, "Wusi shiqi Wang Guangqi de kongxiang shehui zhuyi sixiang tantao" [On Wang Guangqi's Utopian Socialist Thought During the May Fourth Period] in HJ, pp.230-51; also Arif Dirlik, *The*

Origins of the Chinese Communism (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.92, 188; Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu *Modern China and Its Revolutionary Process* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 619-21.
[34] Lun Xun, "A Madman's Diary" in *Selected Stories of Lu Xun* translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1963), p.38.
[35] Simon Leys "Lu Hsun's 'Weeds' in the Gardens of Government" in *Broken Images-Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics* (London: Allison & Busby, 1979), p.10.
[36] Benjamin I. Schwartz, "Introduction" in Benjamin I. Schwartz, ed. *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium* (Cambridge, Mass..: Harvard University Press, 1973), p.10.
[37] Chen Duxiu, "Jinggao qingnian" [Call to youth] in Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo ed., *Wusi yundong wenxuan* [Selected Writings of the May Fourth Movement] (Beijing: Sanlian, 1979), p.5.
[38] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo zhi ...." in SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 2, p.1. Wang might have been inspired by Kang Youwei's thought of "Great Unity".
[39] Ibid.
[40] Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origin of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p.38.
[41] WSST, Vol.1, p.220.
[42] Meisner, *Li Ta-chao*, p. 38.
[43] Ibid.
[44] As Schwartz points out "even Hu Shi who continued to emphasise education and cultural transformation after 1919, was constantly on the search for that "government of good men" which would help him to implement his educational ideas.", *Reflections...*, p.7.
[45] Jerome B. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p.45.
[46] Wang Guangqi, "Zhi Junzuo" in WSST, Vol.1, p.293.
[47] Ibid.
[48] For the great "problem versus 'isms'" debate", see Meisner, *Li Ta-chao*, pp.105-12.
[49] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhngguo zhi ...." in SNZG, Vol.1, Issue.2, p.1.
[50] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhi jingshen jiqi xingdong jihua"[The Spirit of the Young China Association and Its Plans of Action] in SNZG, Vol.1, Issue.6, p.2.
[51] Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, p. 221.
[52] For an account of the society, see WSST, Vol. 2, pp. 128-266, particularly pp. 140, 147; also see Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp.128-33.
[53] See note 33.
[54] Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement,* p.215.
[55] Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian "Zhongguo zhi ......" in SNZG, Vol.1, Issue. 6, p.4.
[56] WSST, Vol.1, p.286.
[57] Ibid.p.287.
[58] SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.1, p.82.
[59] Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao*, p.63.
[60] SNZG, Vol.2, Issue.9, pp.60-1.
[61] Li Dazhao, "Fa E geming zhi bijiao guan" [A Comparison of the French and Russian Revolutions]], first appeared in *Yanzhi* quarterly, No. 3(July 1918), this translation is found in Meisner, *Li Ta-chao* , p.63.
[62]Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of the Chinese Communism,* pp.195-6.
[63] SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.1 (August 1921), pp.82-3.
[64] John Dewey, "New Culture in China" in John Dewey, *Characters and Events* edited by Joseph Ratner, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1929), Vol.1, p.272.

[65] Hu Shi, "Duo yanjiu xie wenti, shao tan xie 'zhuyi'" [More Study of Problems Less Talk of Isms] in *Wusi yundong wenxuan,* p.314.
[66] Edward S. Krebs, "The Chinese Anarchist Critique of Bolshevism during the 1920s' in Roger B. Jeans ed., *Roads Not Taken*, pp.203-23.
[67] Li Yibin, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui ...."in *Jindaishi yanjiu,* Issue. 2 (1980), pp.123-4.
[68] Li Huang, "Liubie Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren" [Farewell to My Colleagues in the Young China Association] in WSST, Vol.1, p.289.
[69] Ibid. pp. 287-8.
[70] SNZG, Vol.1, Issue.1, pp.37-8.
[71] Ibid. p. 38.
[72] Ibid.
[73] See Li Yongtai and Liu Ping, "Wusi shiqi Wang Guangqi de kong.."in HJ, pp.230-51; see also note 33.
[74] SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.2, p.49.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid. pp.54-5.
[77] Ibid. p.28.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.8 (March 1922), p.1.
[81] SNZG, Vol.1, Issue.2, p.7.
[82] Ibid. Vol.3, Issue.8, p.12.
[83] Wang Guangqi, "'Shehui de zhengzhi gaige' yu 'shehui de shehui gaige'," [Political Reform by Social Means and Social Reform by Social Means] in SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.8 (March 1922), pp.48-9.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Wang Guangqi, "Zhengzhi huodong yu shehui huodong," [Political Activities and Social Activities] in SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.8, p.4.
[86] Ibid
[87] Ibid.
[88] It is apparent Wang was referring to Tolstoy's educational activities in the mid nineteenth century when, appalled by the backwardness of education among the peasantry, he set up a school to provide education for peasant children at Yasnaya Polyana.
[89] Wang Guangqi, "Zhengzhi huodong yu shehui huodong," in SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.8, p.5.
[90] Ibid. p.5.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94]Ibid. p.8.
[95] Ibid. pp.8-9. Sadly Wang Guangqi's worry was to be confirmed in 1947. According to Li Huang, upon being appointed the Minister of Finance in the coalition government, he was besieged by an army of CYP members who sought public office. When Li made known his decision that he was not going to dismiss the present employees to give way to these party loyalists, he made himself very unpopular. What saddened Li Huang was that despite the fact that many of these men had been with the party for more than two decades, once they were offered the prospect of being governmental officials, they could not help being tempted. For an analysis of this psychology, see Lloyd E Eastman, "China's Democratic Parties and the Temptation of Political Power, 1947-1947" in *Republican China*, Vol.17, no.1(November, 1991), pp.111-4.
[96] SNZG, Vol.3, Issue.11, pp.61-2,77. Also see Qin Xianci, "'Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui' shimo ji" [The Beginning and End of the YCA] in ZJWX, Vol.35, Issue.1, p.22.

[97] For an account of the educational endeavours of the missionaries in China, see Albert Feuerwerker, "The Foreign Presence in China" in J.K.Fairbank ed. *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Vol.12, pp.172-7.
[98] These articles were subsequently collected in one volume and published under the title *Guojia zhuyi de jiaoyu* [Nationalist Education] in October 1923. Li Huang, "Wusi yundong yu Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui" in ZJWX, Vol.16, Issue.4, p.11; Yu Jiaju, "Yu Jiaju huiyilu" [Memoirs of Yu Jiaju] in ZJWX, Vol. 29, Issue. 3, p.117; Qin Xianci, "Jin 'Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui' shidai de Yu Jiaju" [Yu Jiaju in the May Fourth Era] in ZJWX, Vol. 29, Issue.1, p.98; Chen Zhengmao, "Li Huang yu xiandai Zhongguo" [Li Huang and Modern China] in *Lishi* [History], No.48 (January 1, 1992), p.114.
[99] Chen Qitian was to become a staunch advocate for nationalist education. According to Paul Bailey's research, in the late 1920s, Chen and others "were calling for an end of all forms of non-state education (whether it involved schools founded by missionaries or by private Chinese individuals) and the implementation of a single unified system of state-controlled education." See "The Sino-French Connection: the Chinese Worker, Student Movement in France, 1902-1928" in David S. G. Goodman ed., *China and the West: Ideas and Activities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.91.
[100] For Zhou Enlai's polemics with Zeng Qi, see Kai-yu Hsu, *Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), pp.31-41; for a study of Zeng Qi and the CYP, see Marilyn A. Levine, "Zeng Qi and the Frozen Revolution" in *Roads Not Taken...*, pp.226-40
[101] For a study of the party, see Chan Lau Kit-ching, *The Chinese Youth Party 1923-1945* (Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong Press, 1972). For a good discussion of the party's role in modern Chinese politics before 1949, see Edmund S.K. Fung, "The Alternative of Loyal Opposition: The Chinese Youth Party and Chinese Democracy, 1937-1949" in *Modern China*, Vol.17, No. 2 (April 1991), pp. 260-89.
[102] Lloyd E Eastman, "China's Democratic Parties ....", p.106.
[103] In September of 1924, Zeng Qi, Li Huang and Zhang Mengjiu returned to Shanghai where, together with Zuo Shunsheng, Chen Qitian and Yu Jiaju, they founded the *Awakened Lion Weekly*, and used it to advocate openly the expulsion of internal traitors, namely, the Chinese Communists, and a stronger resistance to external powers.
[104] For a detailed account of this final meeting and the later development of the association, see WSST, Vol.1, pp. 503-35; Qin Xianci, "'Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui' shimo ji" in ZJWX, vo.35, Issue.1, pp.23-4; "Fang Dongmei yu 'Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui'" in ZJWX, Vol.31, Issue.3, p.83.
[105] WSST, Vol.1, pp.514-5. Yu Jiaju, once the leader of the CYP, recalls when he went to visit Wang Guangqi in Berlin in the Spring of 1923, Wang's last words were to urge him again and again to continue the publication of *Shaonian Zhongguo*; see "Yu Jiaju huiyilu"[Memoirs of Yu Jiaju] in ZJWX, Vol.29, Issue.2, p.110.
[106] Although the YCA stopped functioning as a unified organization, the strife between the two factions was to persist for some time. As Wen-hsin Yeh describes, "the magazine *Chinese Youth,* the official organ of the Youth Corps of the Chinese Communist Party, complained loudly in the mid-1920s that Daxia University had come under the influence of ultra-nationalists led by Zeng Qi.... During the May Thirtieth Incident the left wing decried the 'shameful behaviour' of the faculty and administration of Daxia, because it believed that Zeng Qi's ultra-nationalist followers, as teachers and administrators, prohibited students from active participation in public protests and meetings and later expelled left wing students from the school. The left wing also charged that it was the college administration that repeatedly called onto campus the police force of the International Settlement to quell potential student unrest. The Daxia administration, in the eyes of the left wing, had long been controlled by 'statists' or 'ultra-nationalists'...", see *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.122.